

# Division, Dissension, and Compromise: The Presbyterian Church during the Great Awakening

*A look at the problems that tore Presbyterianism in two at the time of the Great Awakening in the 1740s.*

*by Marilyn Westerkamp*

ON MAY 27, 1745, THE SYNOD OF PHILADELPHIA accepted, with some grace, the decision of the Presbytery of New York to join with the Presbytery of New Brunswick in a separately organized Synod of New York. The Presbyterian community was not a particularly large one at this time—six presbyteries with some fifty-four ministers serving congregations from Long Island to New Castle. An outsider might well think that this reasonably small population and geography could have been managed by a single synod, but such an observer would be forgetting the large personalities involved—personalities too vibrant, too doctrinaire, too righteous to govern themselves together. During the previous ten years of spiritual revitalization, two increasingly intractable parties had battled in the presbyteries and synods over the best ways to spread the gospel and serve the people, with one party managing to oust the other at a poorly attended synod meeting in 1741. In addition to these two obstinate clerical factions, a group of moderates had worked to maintain peace. Following the exclusion of 1741, a meeting which they had not attended, this third party sought rapprochement between the others for three years. When both proved unbending, the moderates sided with those excluded as those more justifiably aggrieved and whose spiritual vision they shared.

Within four years, the synods began considering plans of union, testifying to the dedication of the moderate party. Nine years later, in 1758, the reunited Synod of New York and Philadelphia met and formally healed the schism.

Controversy was not new to the colonial church. Scarcely forty years old at the time of this schism, the Synod of Philadelphia had already weathered three major controversies. In 1722, the nature and authority of judicatories was debated. One group envisioned a hierarchical scheme of congregation, presbytery, and synod, with the latter bodies granted the authority to set church policies and in that way maintain orthodoxy and order. Others challenged such a political system as a potential encroachment upon their consciences. Seven years later several ministers proposed that subscription to the Westminster Confession be required of all clerics as a guarantor of orthodoxy within a community troubled by the arrival of unsound ministers from overseas. Once again, opponents complained that this demand would force clergymen to subscribe articles they conscientiously opposed. In both cases, compromise proved attainable through the simple expedient of accepting the system in general, while allowing particular exceptions. A third controversy over the preaching of Samuel Hemphill set the Presbyterians as

Dr. Westerkamp is Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

*Journal of Presbyterian History 78:1 (Spring 2000)*

a church against the latitudinarian opinions of Hemphill, uniting those who opposed subscription with more traditional defenders of orthodoxy against the gross errors of yet another unsound minister from overseas. In all three cases, problems had been resolved and the church was able to move forward.

The battle of 1741 was different. Although couched in the language of presbyterian rights and judicature authority, the conflict engaged individual ministers at the very heart of their being and their callings. An intense religious furor had touched the laity, arousing congregations to heights of emotion and Christian commitment and bringing more people into the churches themselves. This "Great Awakening," which swept the Mid-Atlantic and New England colonies during the 1730s, 1740s and 1750s, inspired many clerics to rethink their own spirituality and experiment with sermon style and itinerancy as a way to bring new souls to Christ. Such experiments succeeded beyond all expectations in awakening people to a sense of their own sins, not only in the privacy of their hearts, but in large, emotional, communal rituals of revivalism and piety. Although many complained that the effects of such excitement were ephemeral, in congregations where such fervor was cultivated and guided, pastors claimed that the Holy Spirit had brought true transformations of individuals and communities.

The laity became deeply committed to this revivalist religiosity to a degree never approached in previous disputes, and Presbyterians' organization and their theology of polity empowered, some might say overly empowered, the laity to prescribe the development of the national church, perhaps even change its direction. In congregations, the authority of pastors was buttressed and overseen by a body of elected elders; elders also joined clerics in both presbytery and synod as governors within these democratically-run bodies. Churches called pastors to minister to them through elections involving the entire male congregation. While presbyteries were the only bodies who could ordain

pastors to congregations, as well as remove them, lay persons found many ways of driving an unwanted pastor out of their congregation, including withholding salary and/or filing charges of misconduct or heresy with the presbytery. Salary games were tricky to play and could backfire, but presbyteries took morals and heterodoxy charges quite seriously. Any small group of determined lay persons could make life miserable for their minister. During these eighteenth-century years of religious renewal, many congregations did just that. They ran after popular preachers, fled stolid ministers to form new congregations, refused to pay one or two who did not support revival, and filed charges of immorality against others.

Ten years ago, in *Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening*,<sup>1</sup> I argued that the overwhelming support of the laity for the Great Awakening pushed the institutional church to schism and led to the ultimate victory of the pro-Awakening, New Light faction in the Plan of Union accepted in 1757. I have not changed my mind about this conclusion, and the research of Elizabeth Nybakken on the anti-Awakening Old Light community reinforces, through an "exception proves the rule" sort of argument, that the laity were a major force in eighteenth-century Presbyterian politics, if for moving their clergy in both directions.<sup>2</sup> Recently, however, Bryan Le Beau's new biographical study of Jonathan Dickinson has led me to reconsider and perhaps reconfigure my own understanding of the clergy.<sup>3</sup>

I have maintained that Leonard Trinterud's argument that the New Lights represented a New England consciousness was too narrow. Ned Landsman identified an early Awakening-style revival in the Scottish community at Freehold, New Jersey, pastored by John Tennent, and my own research found roots of New Light religiosity in the Presbyterian communities of seventeenth-century Ireland and Scotland.<sup>4</sup> Now Le Beau, building upon the work of Leigh Eric Schmidt, has added another challenge to Trinterud's paradigm, namely that the New Englanders, far from joining the intractable New Light



Rev. George Whitefield

party, played a role of moderation throughout the dispute, through the schism, and beyond.<sup>5</sup> New Englanders may have ended up on the side of the New Lights; they certainly believed that it was the Holy Spirit, rather than the delusions of George Whitefield, that swept through the colonies. However, they worked ceaselessly before and after the years of crisis to maintain, then reconstruct, then again maintain peace. Perhaps the remarkable feature of this mid-eighteenth-century episode is not that this dispute brought schism, but that despite the intensity, emotionalism, and personal stakes involved, the schism lasted only seventeen years. In other words, in light of the extraordinary power of the Great Awakening, what is surprising is not the power of the laity to effect schism, but the ability of the clergy to bridge schism through a renewed commitment to moderation. The very brevity of the split, the ability of a divided church to establish a college for the education of ministers, and the accommodation of the New Light Synod of New York to the needs of the Old Light Synod of Philadelphia without forfeiting their own goals testified to the ability of the most rancorous clerics to find common ground amidst the turmoil of the era.

This essay will revisit the Presbyterian Church during the Great Awakening, exam-

ine the circumstances surrounding the division and reunification, consider again the causes for the division, and reevaluate the role played and authority exercised by the clergy. While I continue to assert that the laity played a pivotal role in promoting the Awakening and increasing the authority of New Light clerics, and I maintain that the laity was never completely under the control of its favored clergy, I have come to believe that the congregations of the Presbyterian church did, in the end, fall back under the control of the clerical leadership. This reassertion of clerical authority through the establishment of the College of New Jersey, the reunification of the synods, and the calling of the Scot John Witherspoon to head the new college served to stabilize the institutional organization even as it opened up future centers of conflict and dissent among both clergy and laity.

I

The first stirrings of revivalism that characterized the Great Awakening appeared in the Mid-Atlantic and Chesapeake colonies, the region through which the Presbyterian Church had extended its authority and influence. There, amidst the new immigrants and their pastors, the Awakening began early and lasted longest, entertaining itinerant preachers and inspiring congregations until the political upheavals of the American Revolution replaced, at least temporarily, religious enthusiasm with political protest. In 1729 John Tennent's Freehold congregation became the first New Jersey community to assert that "Regeneration is absolutely necessary in Order to obtain eternal Salvation," and, more importantly, to experience that regeneration as a community. The entire congregation felt a strong sense of its sinfulness, realized the punishment that deservedly awaited, turned to Jesus in hope, and felt the joy of the Spirit's grace in their hearts. As late as 1766, Samuel Buell reported "unusual symptoms" among his congregants, noting with pride that at one point ninety-eight adults had joined the church in East

Hampton, Long Island.<sup>6</sup> For thirty-five years, communal rituals characterized by intense, emotional terror and repentance followed by ecstatic celebrations of conversion regularly erupted in Presbyterian congregations throughout the colonial territory. Animated itinerants and true-believing pastors berated and purred, terrified sinners and comforted penitents, while newcomers and old members shrieked, wept, fainted, and experienced grace. Clergy and congregants believed themselves full participants in an international movement which, in their world, meant that the fires of the Holy Spirit were sweeping not only the North American colonies but the British Isles themselves.

While the Freehold revival may have been the first such phenomenon among the Presbyterian colonizers, it should not be seen as a singular, unexpected event for which the clergy were unprepared. The Freehold congregation included significant numbers of Scots-Irish immigrants, descendants of the Scots who had colonized the northern Irish province of Ulster.<sup>7</sup> Amid the harsh (and reportedly irreligious) conditions of the colonial Irish frontier, a few Scottish Presbyterian ministers had, beginning in 1625, led a series of religious revivals. The revivals, which blossomed into communion services, were characterized by large-scale popular participation and enthusiastic community response as the congregation (and visitors) were led through a recognizable conversion experience. As these settlers had come from western Scotland and continued to visit "home," this revivalist culture soon prospered there as well. For the next century, experiential religion flourished on both sides of the Irish Sea. In the second and third decades of the eighteenth century, the Scots-Irish, mostly in response to economic pressures and several cycles of famine conditions, began to emigrate in large numbers.<sup>8</sup> When they came, they brought their religiosity with them, and experiential spirituality flourished on both sides of the Atlantic.

In the difficult task of pastoring his agitated congregation, John Tennent undoubtedly looked for support to his father and

brothers, a veritable clerical dynasty. William Tennent, having arrived from Ireland in 1718, brought with him four sons, Gilbert, John, William, Jr., and Charles, all destined for the ministry. Initially settled in East Chester, New York, William Sr. would live in Bedford for five years before finally accepting a call, in 1726, to the congregation at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania. Within his first year there, he responded to the need for clerical education in North America and opened an informal school for the education of candidates to the ministry. Known as the "Log College" by its detractors, Tennent's school provided the only education for ministers, apart from private tutoring, available in the mid-Atlantic colonies. Although said to be proficient in the classical languages as well as well read in divinity, William Tennent, his sons, and his students were known for their experimental piety; that is, they had removed erudition from the center of their vocation and replaced it with the personal experience of grace. For Tennent, primary knowledge of God came through the divine intervention of the Holy Spirit rather than through study and knowledge.<sup>9</sup> A man who had not felt the Holy Spirit was judged unfit as a spiritual leader. These graduates of the Log College would become hearty supporters of the Great Awakening, and they, along with Jonathan Dickinson, were the movement's most able preachers and publicists.

They were not the only ones, nor the first, to foster this intense level of piety in the mid-Atlantic colonies. In the 1720s, Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, the newly-arrived Dutch pastor of Raritan, New Jersey, embraced an experiential spirituality and publicly reproached congregants and ministers who did not agree with his position. While he alienated some Dutch Reformed pastors and lay persons, he gathered an increasingly numerous community of supporters whose influence extended beyond congregational and, later, ethnic boundaries. One of his most active colleagues was the young Gilbert Tennent, who had been called to gather a church in New Brunswick in 1726. Just down the river from Raritan, Tennent had

ample opportunity to chart Frelinghuysen's success and develop significant convictions about his own inadequacies. It was during these early pastoral years that Gilbert Tennent became ill. During that illness, in traditional conversion fashion, Tennent worked through his guilt, realized repentance and assurance of grace, and reconfigured his methods of preaching and pastoring.<sup>10</sup>

During the decade following the Freehold revival congregations organized and led by the Tennents and other Log College graduates began to experience the revival excitement. Less a concerted, continuous movement than sporadic outbursts of activity, these preachers, working from their own convictions, led individuals and entire communities to penitential realization of their sins and conversion to the grace of God. Accompanying such conversion, pastors attested, was the transformed behavior that evidenced the legitimacy of the revivals. As the decade progressed, such phenomena occurred more frequently, until challenges were waged in presbyteries and carried to the synod. By 1738, many of the Log College men organized themselves (or were set apart, it is a difficult call) into the new Presbytery of New Brunswick. Throughout the next seven years, the New Brunswick Presbytery would boast the most active preachers of the communion as they traveled huge distances as itinerants, organized new congregations, intruded into settled parishes, and generally, in their own terms, furthered the work of the gospel.

From a Presbyterian perspective, most of this work was much needed. In discussing the strife of the Great Awakening, it is easy to forget that this was a frontier community expanding exponentially with a continuous flow of immigrants from Scotland and, especially, Ireland. During the first four decades of the century, the Presbyterian Church struggled with the problem of too few ministers. For many new settlers, itinerancy was the only means by which they heard the gospel or participated in the sacraments. Ministers willing to traverse hundreds of miles were a boon to the burgeoning popu-

lation, so that the New Brunswick men were much heralded for their efforts and their sacrifices. However, in addition to traveling in the unserved areas of their own geographically vast presbytery, they were preaching within the boundaries of other presbyteries, sometimes of other congregations with settled ministers. From the perspective of these ministers, the New Brunswick preachers were intruders who stirred up discontent among congregants. That there could arise a battle among ministers that divided the people indicated that the colonies were beginning to see a reasonable number of ministers. In some cases, settlers now saw themselves as having a choice.

By the end of the 1730s, those same clergy growing anxiously angry about intrusions raised an issue of their own. For the previous twenty years or so, the Presbyterians had been plagued by incompetent pastors. Probationers of questionable qualifications who could not find a place in Scotland or Ireland migrated to North America where, on the clergy-scarce frontier, they were eagerly welcomed with congregational calls that were affirmed by the respective presbyteries. Within months, those same judicatures would sit upon charges of pastoral negligence, heterodoxy, or immorality. Resolutions were passed demanding that presbyteries take special care in reviewing the academic qualifications of ministerial candidates. When frustrations continued, the synod decided that all probationers who had not attended a New England or European college would be subject to synodical examination to demonstrate basic academic knowledge. In light of increasing tensions between the New Brunswick Presbytery and others in the synod, this resolution could have been read as a criticism of William Tennent's college, for students of William Tennent would necessarily be described as men with a private education. The New Brunswick men issued the first challenge when they decided, in 1738, to license Log College graduate John Rowland without this examination because "they were not in point

of Conscience restrained by sd Act from using the Liberty and Power with Presbys have all along hitherto enjoyed."<sup>11</sup>

The problem of Rowland's qualifications was more than academic. The congregation of Hopewell and Maidenhead, New Jersey, having no settled pastor, had asked that Rowland be permitted to supply. This congregation was on the border of the Philadelphia and New Brunswick Presbyteries, although officially within the boundaries of Philadelphia which had sent its own probationer, John Guild. The people, however, claimed their right to hear a second probationer and invited Rowland, who accepted the invitation despite a warning from one of Philadelphia's clergy that Rowland's preaching there would cause dissension. In fact, his preaching did split the congregation, and Hopewell and Maidenhead petitioned to be divided into two, with Hopewell calling Guild and Maidenhead calling Rowland. The synod, in the following year, publicly declared that the Presbytery of New Brunswick had been "very disorderly" in licensing Rowland "to preach the Gospel without his submitting to such preparatory Examination as was appointed." The battle had begun.<sup>12</sup>

The synod might have struggled along, hearing disputes and processing compromises as they had always done, were it not for the appearance of George Whitefield. Twenty-five years old and fresh from the spiritual tutelage of John Wesley, Whitefield embarked upon a preaching tour of the colonies in the autumn of 1739. From all accounts Whitefield boasted extraordinary gifts as a speaker, and his success throughout New England and the Mid-Atlantic colonies has been well documented. A well-orchestrated publicity campaign that utilized advance notices, publications, and the network of curious or, especially later, committed ministers placed neighborhoods on the alert so that, fully warned, hundreds, if not thousands, gathered in churches and fields to witness the spectacle.<sup>13</sup> It was said that the skeptics came to heckle and stayed to be converted, and Whitefield did draw enthusi-

astic responses wherever he spoke. People shrieked, fainted, and wept, all crying "what must I do to be saved?" However, the revival in religion would disappear as quickly as it had come unless it was fostered by others. Whitefield was an itinerant, not a pastor; he awakened sinners rather than led them to salvation. That task of nurturing conversions was left to those ministers already settled in the region. Predictably, the revivalism ignited by Whitefield continued in the only two regions that had already experienced some religious enthusiasm, New England and the Mid-Atlantic. It would later spread to the Chesapeake with Presbyterian and, later, Baptist ministers.

Throughout the colonies clergymen took sides for or against the new religiosity. Supporters of the Awakening, New Lights, saw the essence of true faith as holy love—religion of the heart; they believed the revivals to be the work of the Holy Spirit and understood the extreme physical manifestations as one natural response of an enlightened soul responding to the newly realized threat of damnation. New Lights described their opponents as legalists who mistook correct behavior for conversion, thinking for faith, and eloquence for inspiration. These opponents, Old Lights, found the essence of true faith in right reason and intelligent orthodoxy—religion of the mind. They considered the revivals delusions of an ignorant, vulgar populace fed by irresponsible, self-serving demagogues. In all regions, congregations identified themselves as Old or New Light, and clerics and communities on each side made connections across denominational boundaries with those who shared their views of the revivals. In other words, even as they experienced divisions and schisms within their own denominations, congregations envisioned themselves united with other churches to promote the work of the spirit.

Among Presbyterians, Whitefield had set a new pace for religious expansion, exciting lay persons and raising the expectations of clergy. At last the Holy Spirit was moving with the grace that required nurturance from



Rev. Gilbert Tennent

pastors. Many who had considered themselves committed and faithful Christians came to believe that their confidence in salvation had been presumptuous, their spirituality empty. Even ministers reported that hearing Whitefield had brought them to realize the futility of their spiritual aspirations, and serious questions about the qualifications of pastors arose again. How could a man who had yet to know the flush of divine grace, that is, a man who had yet to experience conversion, lead others to salvation? Of what use was a knowledge of Greek or Hebrew, or a deep understanding of the Westminster Confession, without faith? While the Tennents and their disciples granted the importance of learning and an orthodox comprehension of doctrine, they believed that the essential requirement for ordination was an experiential knowledge of the love and mercy of God. Once again the battle over pastoral qualifications raged, but it had turned from orthodoxy and learning to experiential piety.

The official minutes of the New Brunswick Presbytery reflect the tensions surrounding the passage of the 1738 resolution regarding synodical examination. Whether this decision was a particular at-

tack upon the Log College is uncertain. John Rowland had been previously denied licensure by the Presbytery of New Castle since they found him "remarkably deficient in many parts of the useful language required in our Directory," however, it was not New Castle but the Presbytery of Lewes that proposed the examination resolution.<sup>14</sup> That the Presbytery of New Brunswick first ignored the resolution as not applicable to them and later protested the 1738 act at the 1739 Synod reflects an increasing awareness of efforts to deprecate William Tennent's students and a determination to defend themselves as a presbytery and maintain their own authority in the field. Whether or not in response to a supposed attack upon the Log College preachers, Gilbert Tennent quickly turned from the institutional arena and the question of academic examination and instigated a new ministerial qualification battle over experiential piety out into the trenches of the Nottingham, Pennsylvania, meeting house, Presbytery of Donegal.

Nottingham was a perfect choice. Six years before, in 1734, the congregation had brought charges against their pastor of two years' standing, William Orr. The leadership began with accusations of heterodoxy; the presbytery acquitted Orr of believing false doctrine but warned him of his questionable expressions. The following year, Orr requested permission to demit the pastorate as he had experienced severe disappointments; that is, he was not getting paid. Elders' continued accusations were answered by Orr's charges of slander, and the trial degenerated into a discussion of Orr's moral conduct, complete with unsubstantiated gossip. Throughout the trials, the presbytery supported the minister over the people, but, in the end, the presbytery ended the pastoral relationship as a fruitless enterprise. Their demands that Nottingham pay their debits to Orr probably went unmet; Orr was refused a certificate through the machinations of one of his obstreperous elders and left the country. By the end of the decade, the congregation had been vacant for several months and, after waiting for supply preachers who

never came, the congregation invited and heard Log College man Samuel Blair. In this pulpit, in 1740, Gilbert Tennent delivered the scathing sermon *Danger of an Unconverted Ministry*.

Apparently weary of evading the legalistic processes of his colleagues, Gilbert Tennent proclaimed his own style of ministry. Fast and furious, the rhetoric hardly left the topic of the wickedness and evildoing of unconverted ministers: "caterpillars" who labored "to devour every green Thing." They were like the Pharisees of the Gospels, "proud & conceity," "crafty as foxes" with the "Cruelty of Wolves." Tennent portrayed them as men fixed upon the small, unimportant rules of religion and "fired with a Party Zeal." After devoting a very few minutes to the scriptural proof of the necessity of rebirth through the story of Nicodemus, Tennent returned to the original, more gratifying subject of the flaws of the unconverted preachers. Their sermons were "cold and sapless," providing security to the wicked in their confusion of legal obedience with gospel obedience. "They keep Driving, Driving, to Duty, Duty, under this Notion that it will recommend natural Men to the favour of GOD, or entitle them to the promises of grace and Salvation." Tennent returned to the primary issue of ministerial qualifications and transformed the concept of examination. Because academies were so corrupt, the church should encourage private schools "under the Care of skillful and experienced Christians; in which those only should be admitted, who upon strict Examination, have in the Judgment of a reasonable Charity, the plain evidence of experimental Religion." In the segment of the sermon directed at lay persons, Tennent called people fools for staying with unconverted ministers, however well behaved, and even allowed people to leave good ministers of lesser abilities. In other words, people were more or less free to hear whomever they pleased, wherever they pleased, provided, of course, that the sought-after preacher was godly.<sup>15</sup>

Such a construction of the ministry flew against the core of Presbyterians' theology

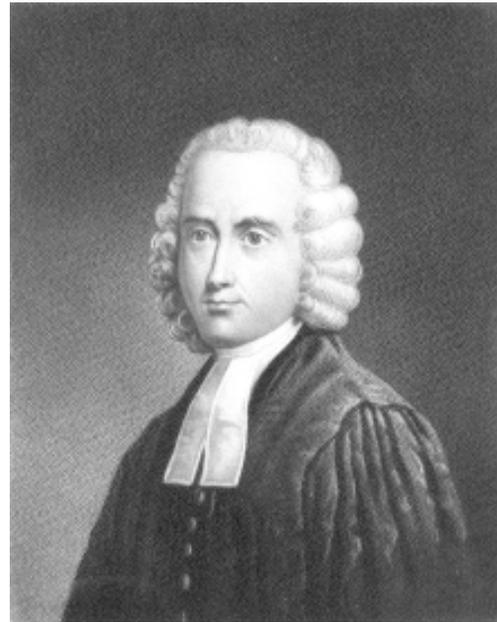
of vocational calling and ordination. Some men were more talented than others, but these Calvinists worked with the assurance that Providence would place a minister in the place where he could achieve the greatest good. Once established, the pastoral relationship was sacred. Jonathan Dickinson, no strong supporter of presbyterial method and synodical authority, nevertheless preached vehemently against the laity's rejecting ministers who had been ordained at the invitation of the people. Months before Tennent's sermon, Dickinson had spoken out in defense of John Pierson, whose congregation had been expressing dissatisfaction with his demeanor. Dickinson emphasized that such an expression wrongly attributed to men the work of the Holy Spirit. "This mistake lies in giving the Honour to the Instrument, which belongs only to the principle Agent; and not ascribing to the Sovereignty of Gods free Grace, all the blessings that he is pleased to afford to the means of this Grace." Dickinson described the opinions as arguing that the unprofitable ministers "want [i.e., lack] right views, are not influenced with a Zeal for the Cause of Christ.... They and their followers are *dead and lifeless*...." In reply, Dickinson challenged that he could not see into men's hearts, and he asked others to stop pretending that they could.<sup>16</sup>

The emotions surrounding the question of ministerial qualifications were intensified by the itinerant activities of the New Brunswick Presbytery. Alongside resolutions seeking to deter the ordination of men like John Rowland were resolutions aimed at controlling those already ordained. After all, congregants would not leave their pastors and run after other preachers if those preachers had not intruded into pulpits where they had no business. Thus, the 1738 synod that first passed the resolution demanding synodical examination of candidates not educated in established universities also passed resolutions concerning itinerant preaching. Any minister was generally free to preach in a vacant congregation, even one beyond his own presbyterial boundaries; however, if

warned by the congregation's presbytery that such preaching would foment divisions, then the itinerant must receive permission from the presbytery before accepting an invitation. This resolution, as well as that on examining candidates, was confirmed the following year.<sup>17</sup> Six months later, George Whitefield began his first major tour of the British colonies, and the following March Tennent denounced "unconverted ministers." It would seem that the stage was set for explosion, but the compromisers made one more effort.

First, the synod of 1740 responded to lay misperceptions that the synodical act "was calculated to prevent itinerant Preaching." They were shocked at the thought, and declared "that they never thought of opposing, but do heartily rejoice in the Labours of the Ministry in other Places besides their own charge." The judicature therefore repealed the resolution, and agreed "that our Ministers shall in that respect conduct themselves as tho' it had never been made." In the next breath, they "clarified" the synodical motion regarding examination of candidates for the ministry, explaining that they did not question the "Power of subordinate Presbyteries to ordain Ministers," but only meant to assert their own right to judge of the credentials of synod members. They further added that while such an agreement was necessary for maintaining the good order of the Presbyterian church, the synod admitted that such candidates may well be "truly Gospel Ministers." With one motion, the synod had repealed the intrusions resolution and backed somewhat off their hard-line stance on candidate examinations. The meeting closed with prayer, but not before the congregations of Tinnacum and Newtown, Pennsylvania, were permitted to leave the Old Light Presbytery of Philadelphia for New Brunswick.<sup>18</sup>

Returning now to the synod of 1741, the failure of the leadership to maintain compromise is striking. The New Light ministers had continued their disruptive intrusions, accompanied by critical commentary, and lay persons increasingly chose to reject (or at



Rev. Jonathan Dickinson

least heckle and harass) their own ministers in favor of the itinerants. As the Presbyterian community moved into the post-Whitefield decade, the congregations began challenging unwanted pastors through salary disputes and judicatory charges. Additionally, as Le Beau has so persuasively argued, the absence of the New York Presbytery at the 1741 synod opened the way for the major battle. Because of their absence, the two sides were fairly evenly matched, and, with a remonstrance and a vote, the Old Lights established themselves as the "majority," albeit a suspiciously thin one, and threw the others out of the synod. The Presbytery of New York, led by Dickinson, did indeed begin almost immediately seeking reunion, but they were too late, in part because this battle had been brewing not for six months but for more than four years. Having settled their problems temporarily by excluding troublesome itinerants through the Remonstrance of 1741, the remaining members of the newly "purged" synod refused to undo that exclusion. Those cast out may have felt themselves unable, they were in any case unwilling, to negotiate reunion without this concession, making reunion impossible. Each side then entered upon the legalistic

dance, demanding that the others remove the initial obstacle, whether it be the Remonstrance of 1741 or the practice of itinerancy. In the end, New York sided with those cast out but, in a spirit of unity, petitioned the synod to allow them to establish a second Synod of New York. Philadelphia accepted this proposal, and separation came.<sup>19</sup>

Why Dickinson and the New York Presbytery sided with the New Lights is a more complicated question than has been assumed. Following the lead of Leonard Trinterud, the New England background of the clergy and congregations has become the easy, "obvious" explanation for their choice. Yet all students of the Great Awakening know that New England did not unilaterally support the revivals; their churches were as divided as those in the Mid-Atlantic region. Among the Presbyterians, four New Englanders, including Harvard graduate Jedidiah Andrews, pastor in Philadelphia, remained staunchly Old Light. Moreover, at an earlier stage, when congregants challenged the spiritual leadership of John Pierson, Dickinson responded with a spiritual defense of Pierson as the Spirit-anointed pastor as well as a scathing attack upon misguided, self-indulgent congregants. His discussion certainly stands as a strong counterpoint to Gilbert Tennent's sermon on unconverted ministers.

I think the solution to the problem lies in two separate convictions. First, the New York members came to believe that the Great Awakening was the work of the Holy Spirit. They certainly opened their doors to the preaching of itinerants, including Whitefield, and they continued the work of conversion after the itinerants had initially awakened their hearers. In 1742, Dickinson granted that "The most serious and judicious, both Ministers and Christians, have look'd upon it to be, *in the main*, a genuine Work of God, and the Effect of that Effusion of the SPIRIT of Grace, which the faithful have been praying, hoping, longing and waiting for."<sup>20</sup> Dickinson was uncomfortable with some of the more emotional, physical antics, but, he noted, most awakened

sinner did not cry out, and those who were converted displayed a reformation of behavior. In other words, through their behavior and their accounts of this period, members of the New York Presbytery revealed themselves as sympathetic to the cause of the new religiosity. Second, and perhaps equally important, Dickinson and his clerical followers judged the Old Light Synod members at fault in the dispute. As mediators between opponents, they did hear both sets of grievances, and their demeanor throughout, as well as the end result, indicates that they judged New Brunswick and its supporters to have been maligned. The New York Presbytery, in essence, joined with the excluded in asking that the entire matter be debated again on a more equal footing. When the reduced Synod of Philadelphia refused to allow an unconditional reconsideration, with all Presbyterian clergymen equal participants, the clerics of New York placed the fault squarely at the synod's feet.<sup>21</sup>

During the fourteen years of the schism, the two synods remained in communion and conversation with each other, which, in and of itself, reflects the abilities of clergy to put aside some differences at some times. Once they were not in daily discussion with each other, once disputes with their own congregants were no longer subject to the judgment of the others, once intrusions were no longer issues accessible to synodical process, the clergy could remain on speaking terms. Regular meetings of a joint synod committee, ostensibly to discuss reunion, began in 1747. The terms of negotiation remained relatively unchanged; however personnel changes (several key people died) as well as changing attitudes of some of the most obstreperous opened the door for greater compromise. John Thomson, who had called the revivals "these disorderly violent new-fangled Notions and Stirs about Religion," left his troubled pastorate in Chestnut Hill for Hanover, Virginia. And while he remained a member of the Synod of Philadelphia, he found himself free to utilize some of the revivalists' methods and to enjoy some of their success.<sup>22</sup>

On the other side, Gilbert Tennent, in response to the rise of uncontrollable enthusiasm, was beginning to move toward the persuasive, moderate voice of Jonathan Dickinson. James Davenport, an itinerant whose original parish was on Long Island, had already created some anxiety among the New Lights during his tour of New Jersey, bringing communities to unbridled enthusiasm. Already excessive in his methods, he seemed to go over the edge in New England where he sang in the streets, shrieked his messages, and encouraged lay preachers. Following a series of sermons that grew increasingly harsh in their condemnation of "unenlightened" ministers who in fact supported the Awakening but condemned Davenport, Davenport brought shame to the Presbyterian Church when he established a "school of the prophets," the "Shepherd's Tent" in New London, Connecticut. On one of the more spectacular evenings he provoked his followers to build a bonfire and burn the published works of eminent New England ministers.<sup>23</sup> A few years after Davenport had shaken Tennent's convictions, he observed the disruption that the Moravians brought among their German brethren, as well as the threat they posed for his own congregation in Philadelphia. The Moravians swept through Pennsylvania, promising the possibilities of universal salvation and denying the need of preparing for conversion, a theological position that Presbyterians found indefensible. Further, the Moravians demanded ministers that led successful revivals and urged congregants to leave pastors who could not provoke the correct response. Jonathan Dickinson and Samuel Blair, as well as Tennent, denounced the Moravians, and Tennent absolutely changed position upon the pastor-congregant relation: he now argued that people should stay with their own pastors. These sermons were titled *The Danger of Spiritual Pride* and *The Necessity of studying to be quiet, and doing our own Business*. By the time the work of reconciliation was underway, Tennent had preached *Brotherly Love recommended*.<sup>24</sup>

As the synods jockeyed for position in

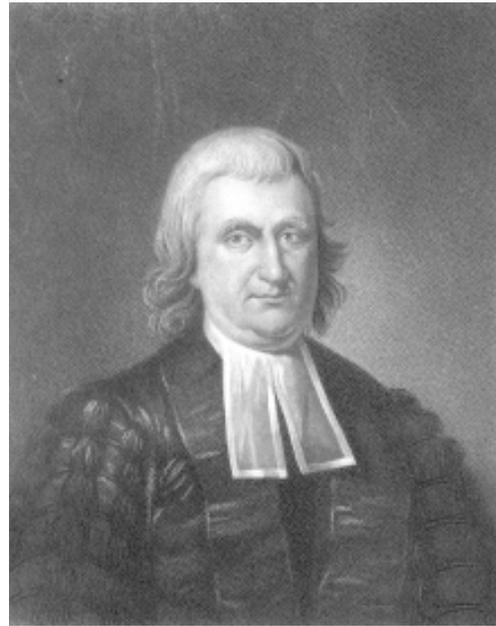
the reunification discussions, two factors worked together to render the New Light Synod of New York the dominant force. The first was the overwhelming support of the laity for the revival. From 1738 onward, congregation upon congregation under the governance of the Old Light presbyteries of Philadelphia, Donegal, and New Castle petitioned New Brunswick, and later the Synod of New York, to be placed under their care. Not only did the congregations of Hopewell and Maidenhead split but so did those of Cohanzy, Neshaminy, Great Valley, and Philadelphia. Tinnacum, Newtown, and Tredyffrin, also of the Philadelphia Presbytery, sought to be joined to New Brunswick, as did four congregations in the New Castle Presbytery. Additionally, five communities under New Castle's care divided, and in the Presbytery of Donegal almost every congregation either withdrew from the presbytery or suffered a separation. In 1741 alone, seventeen congregations in the Mid-Atlantic and Chesapeake areas petitioned the New Brunswick Presbytery for supply preaching.<sup>25</sup>

The second factor, building upon the first, was the ability of the New Light community to supply ministers to those congregations. In 1758, the year of reunion, the Old Light Synod of Philadelphia numbered twenty clerics, nine of whom had joined the synod after 1745. The Synod of New York had seventy-two clerics; fifty-eight had arrived within the previous ten years, and of those at least half were native-born.<sup>26</sup> These numbers are not only about the demand for ministers, but about supply. From the 1730s onward, Presbyterian clerics had been increasingly concerned about their dependence upon British institutions, along with Harvard and Yale, to provide the basic baccalaureate education for young men/potential ministers. In fact, the Presbyterian Church was dependent upon Harvard, Yale, and Britain not only for education but for candidates themselves. William Tennent's Log College had been the first response to this dependence, and the discomfort some clergymen felt about such a private enterprise

was acted out in the Rowland debates over ministerial qualifications.

Beyond private tutoring, however, ministers on both sides of the Awakening began working toward the establishment of a college. The Old Lights had great hopes for the New London Academy and arrangements with Yale to take their students, plans that never came to fruition. The New Lights, of course, were highly suspicious of Yale and Harvard, for both had rejected the promise of the Awakening. Yale's president had refused to permit students to attend Gilbert Tennent's preaching in a nearby town, and the college's expulsion of David Brainerd, who had said that his tutor had "no more grace than a chair" and then refused to confess and repent, was becoming legendary. New Lights turned to their own resources, again, and under the guidance of the highly admired and politically astute Dickinson, they successfully proposed the establishment of the College of New Jersey, a colony-supported college that would educate men of all denominations and yet be under the direction of Presbyterian clergy. When the college moved to Newark in October 1747, twenty students were enrolled. The first class of six graduated in 1748, and over the next twenty years, 338 men graduated from the college and almost half (158) were ordained, most of them Presbyterians.<sup>27</sup>

Reflecting the dominance of the Synod of New York, the Plan of Union incorporated resolutions upon each disputed area that favored the New Light position while allowing the Old Lights to save face. The agreement began with a confirmation of the Westminster Confession as the confession of the Presbyterian church. The Westminster Directory established the plans of worship, government, and discipline, and concurrence with (or at least submission to) every synodical decision was required in matters judged "indispensable to doctrine or government." The proviso, first established in 1729, that members could protest inessential matters remained, and no one would be prosecuted for protesting a decision—an



Rev. John Witherspoon

indirect reference to the New Brunswick Presbytery's protest of the 1739 decision concerning ministerial qualifications. The Protestation of 1741 was also deemed a legal protest, but only that, and *not* an act of synod. In accepting the Plan of Union, then, the Old Lights acknowledged that their use of this protest as synodical act was illegal, paving the way for reconciliation.<sup>28</sup>

Members reached compromise positions upon the original presenting issues: ministerial qualifications and intrusions. Now, probationers would be required to produce evidence of their experiential piety as well as their learning and theological understanding. On the question of intrusions, preachers were warned against slandering one another publicly, whether the accusations involved immorality, heterodoxy, or mere insufficiency as a pastor. Any one concerned about the character or theology of a pastor was to employ the appropriate disciplinary process outlined in the Directory. So too, an itinerant preacher was required to ask the permission of the pastor, or, in the case of a vacant congregation, the presbytery, before he preached outside the bounds of his own congregation. However, the agreement also

noted that refusing such consent would be judged "unbrotherly."<sup>29</sup>

The final article of the Plan of Union established the new synod's ratification of the Awakening as a work of the Holy Spirit. With extensive and fulsome prose, the agreement confirmed that true conversion was characterized by "an entire Change of Heart & Life" and noted that many people who had experienced the physical manifestations of spiritual awakening still failed to evidence such a change in their behavior and habits. These individuals were judged deluded. The revival's advocates appeared to back away from a position of unilateral, indiscriminate support, and much of the emotional enthusiasm was condemned. In the end, the final article did proclaim the recent awakening

a gracious Work of God, even tho' it Shou'd be attended with unusual bodily Commotions, or Some more exceptionable Circumstances, by Means of Infirmity, Temptations, or remaining Corruptions; and whenever religious Appearances are attended with the good Effects above mentioned, we desire to rejoice in and thank God for them.<sup>30</sup>

Although this language may be read as political compromise of New Lights to continued Old Light hesitations, historians can also see here the growing anxiety of the New Lights themselves with the emotionalism and "fanatical" zeal, as they described it, of such extremists as the Moravians or their own James Davenport.

A spare seventeen years after the New Brunswick brethren and their supporters were cast out of the Synod of Philadelphia, the leaders of both parties reached an agreement and united into the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. The comparative brevity of the separation makes it difficult to measure the ultimate significance of the schism in the history of Presbyterianism in the United States. One might argue, from the changing composition of the clerical community combined with the rather static nature of the laity, that the church of 1765 would have become what it was, even without the upheaval of schism. Still, these very communities did push toward separation, and during

the 1740s, this division held great symbolic value for all Presbyterians. If the New Lights really believed that their opponents were unconverted, then their withdrawal represented a rejection of the body corrupt, and the Old Lights, who saw their opponents as deluded, may have pursued their removal as a sort of grand purge. While the laity, especially the New Lights, may have found themselves interpreting the schism in this light, moderating actions on both sides indicate that neither group of clerics had moved to such polar extremes. Clergymen held a range of positions on the subject of separation as well as presenting issues causing the split, with very few ministers so extreme as to not seek reconciliation.

George Gillespie, a highly respected member of the New Castle Presbytery since 1721, had mixed feelings about the Awakening itself. He found Whitefield's theology unsound and Tennent's preaching dangerous, and he remained in the Synod of Philadelphia after 1745. However, he neither joined nor approved the Protestation of 1741 and wrote that "it plainly appeareth who were hottest for a division, to wit, the protesters."<sup>31</sup> Several members of the New York Presbytery were deeply sympathetic to those ministers who had felt attacked by such sermons as Tennent's *Danger of an Unconverted Ministry*; Jonathan Dickinson publicly condemned a congregation who seemed to be moving in such a direction in opposition to their pious and respectable (but apparently not so very charismatic) pastor. The presbytery itself, absent from the synod in 1741, devoted three years within the Philadelphia Synod toward effecting a reconciliation. Only after failing to achieve unity did they choose to create with the others a new synodical body, and in this effort, the Synod of New York informed and sought (and received) the blessing of the Synod of Philadelphia. Even the obstreperous Gilbert Tennent had developed second thoughts about the stridency, vehemence, and dogmatism of his own preaching upon the importance of the Spirit. He had never opposed the importance of erudition as a qualifica-

tion for the ministry; but he was convinced that an experiential knowledge of God was of equal importance. Within eight years of his Nottingham sermon, Tennent himself had seen the face of extremism and recognized it as unsound and dangerous, spiritually and theologically.

While the laity always seemed prepared to enjoy a good fight, clergymen generally stepped more carefully. Perhaps the laity were less sophisticated and therefore unable to understand such nuances as essential vs. inessential doctrines. This could prevent them from grasping the space for compromise. Perhaps the laity were simply irresponsible, willing to use the justification of Awakening to destroy the career of their pastor because he did not fit their own image of a spiritual leader (or, at least, to leave his care for someone better liked). While the laity, overall, probably were less sophisticated than the ministry, and while some undoubtedly disliked their pastors enough to use whatever means available to rid themselves of them, I believe it a mistake to simply see the clergy as something the laity were not. In the Presbyterian Church, whether in Scotland, Ireland, or North America, whether in the seventeenth, eighteenth, or twentieth centuries, the clergy have often had the responsibility for leading the laity beyond the frequently dualistic thinking of their congregations—right/wrong simple-mindedness that retained no space for legitimate disagreement or compromise. Sometimes pastors failed, but often they refused to try and instead used the laity as a lever with which to push clerical opponents. The problem, of course, was that when ministers used the laity as a tool, lay men and women might develop a heightened, dare I say dangerous, sense of their own importance. The congregants could then challenge their pastor or their presbytery, and what began as a power battle among clerics fueled by lay participation could end up a battle between pastors and their congregations.

In the end, a pastor's surest allies remained his colleagues, and so clerics often worked, from the beginning, to resolve dif-

ferences among themselves. They sought out and negotiated compromises and then persuaded their congregations to accept those compromises. They would have said, I think, that they did this for the glory of God: to further the work of God in the world. They certainly did this for the sake of unity, espousing a theology that understood unity as a virtue in and of itself. But still, this unity was undoubtedly more important to clerical well-being than to the lay spirituality. Ministers needed the support and friendship of other ministers. Clergymen required the services that only the institutional church can provide: supply preachers, assistance celebrating the sacraments, support in disciplinary matters, assistance in educating and promoting new ministerial candidates. Most of these things would benefit the laity, but the clergy, by sitting at the heart of the institution's life, understood better what was needed. I would argue that, in part, they resolved disputes and negotiated compromises because they were colleagues, friends, and confidants. They needed the emotional and institutional support that clergymen give to one another and that the church administration provided them in their work.

The moderating spirit was most apparent in the early progress of the College of New Jersey. Presbyters throughout the Mid-Atlantic had dreamed about a college in their own region that could train candidates for the ministry. The presbyteries that would constitute the Synod of New York had, under the guidance of Jonathan Dickinson, finally succeeded. Long negotiations with the successive governors of New Jersey had garnered a charter as well as the patronage of leading citizens in the region. When the two synods reunited in 1758, they together embraced the College of New Jersey as their own, and despite the efforts of a few ministers within the Philadelphia Presbytery who still hoped for their own college, the clerics worked together to support the New Jersey institution. The first two decades of the college's history were rocky, plagued by the death of several presidents. However, in 1768, the trustees successfully recruited John

Witherspoon to serve as the college's new president. As a minister within the Church of Scotland and a member of the evangelical party, Witherspoon was opposed to the theological rationalism that rejected the divinity of Christ. A staunch Calvinist, he also opposed the enthusiasm of the revivals which had swept mid-century Scotland as well as the North American colonies. Because of his stature, his political acumen, and his participation in the political as well as theological debates of the day, Witherspoon became what the Presbyterian Church had lacked: a leader of national prominence who symbolized no faction, only unity. Following the American Revolution, in the very year in which the new republic began its history under the Constitution, Witherspoon would lead the Presbyterian Church toward its national destiny with the formation of a national General Assembly comprising four synods.

This unity was, predictably, short-lived. During the first few decades of the nineteenth century, battles about revivalism, ministerial qualifications, and the nature of salvation returned. The laity again became radicalized, the clergy took sides and encouraged congregants' rebellion, and Presbyterians once again returned to the cycle of schism and reunion. In the end, the cyclical nature of this dynamic retains primary importance. Yes, the Presbyterian Church did split in 1741, and, yes, it would do so again many times; schism seems built into Presbyterian theology and polity. However, the Presbyterian Church also reunited in 1758, a union negotiated among the sharpest of opponents, a union that lasted more than forty years. Apparently, reunions, as well as schisms, stand as part of the Presbyterian political culture.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>(New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988).

<sup>2</sup>Elizabeth I. Nybakken, "The Scottish, Irish, and American Evangelical Community in the 18th Century: Clergy and Laity in the Revivals" (Commentary delivered at the 1989 Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April 1989, St. Louis, MO).

<sup>3</sup>Bryan Le Beau, *Jonathan Dickinson and the For-*

*mative Years of American Presbyterianism* (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1997).

<sup>4</sup>Leonard J. Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1949), esp. 53–167; Ned Landsman, "Revivalism and Nativism in the Middle Colonies: The Great Awakening and The Scots Community in East New Jersey," *American Quarterly* 34 (1982): 149–64.

<sup>5</sup>Leigh Eric Schmidt, "Jonathan Dickinson and the Making of the Moderate Awakening," *American Presbyterians: Journal of Presbyterian History* 63 (1985): 341–53.

<sup>6</sup>John Tennent, *The Nature of Regeneration Opened* (Boston, 1735); Samuel Buell, *A Faithful Narrative of the Remarkable Revival of Religion in the Congregation of East-Hampton, on Long Island* (New York, 1766).

<sup>7</sup>This story of the Scots-Irish, from the 1625 revivals to the Great Awakening, is recounted in Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity*.

<sup>8</sup>Religious persecutions were also cited as a reason for the emigration; but the persecution was haphazard and erratic, dependent entirely upon the attitude of the Anglican bishop overseeing the district. In my judgment, the economic factors were far more important. The report of John St. Leger and Michael Ward to the Lord Justices, 26 June 1729 (Public Record Office, Belfast, Northern Ireland) cites persecutions, including high tithes and summonses to bishops' courts, but they, too, found the primary problems to be economic.

<sup>9</sup>On William Tennent's theology, see Milton J. Coalter, Jr.'s exploration of several sermons in his *Gilbert Tennent, Son of Thunder: A Case Study of Continental Pietism's Impact on the First Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986), 5–9.

<sup>10</sup>Randall H. Balmer, *A Perfect Babel of Confusion: Dutch Religion and English Culture in the Middle Colonies* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), 103–21. See also Coalter, *Gilbert Tennent, Son of Thunder*, 12–22.

<sup>11</sup>Presbytery of New Brunswick, Minutes, 8 August 1738, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia; Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia, 29 May 1738, 29 May 1739 as printed in Guy S. Klett, ed., *Minutes of the Presbyterian Church in America 1706–1788* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1976), 157, 164. Subsequent citations of synod minutes are from this edition.

<sup>12</sup>Minutes of the Philadelphia Synod, 28 May 1739, 163.

<sup>13</sup>On Whitefield's great success cultivating an image and attracting huge numbers, see Frank Lambert, *Pedlar in Divinity: George Whitefield and the Transatlantic Revivals, 1737–1770* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1994).

<sup>14</sup>As cited in Coalter, *Gilbert Tennent, Son of Thunder*, 50; Minutes of the Philadelphia Synod, 29 May 1738, 157.

<sup>15</sup>Gilbert Tennent, *The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry* (Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin, 1740), 3–7, 10, 16.

<sup>16</sup>Jonathan Dickinson, *The Danger of Schisms and Contentions with Respect to the Ministry and Ordinances of the Gospel* (New York: J. Peter Zenger, 1739), 8, 17.

<sup>17</sup>Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia, 25 May 1738, 153; 28 May 1739, 163.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 2 June 1740, 171.

<sup>19</sup>LeBeau, *Jonathan Dickinson*, 124–31.

<sup>20</sup>Jonathan Dickinson, *A Display of God's special Grace* (Boston, 1742), i–ii.

<sup>21</sup>LeBeau, *Jonathan Dickinson*, 124–48.

<sup>22</sup>John Thomson, *The Government of the Church of Christ, and the Authority of Church Judicatories established on a Scripture Foundation* (Philadelphia, 1741), iv.

<sup>23</sup>Harry S. Stout and Peter Onuf, "James Davenport and the Great Awakening in New London," *Journal of American History* 71 (1983): 556–78.

<sup>24</sup>Gilbert Tennent, *Some Account of the Principles of the Moravians* (London, 1743); Tennent, *The Danger of Spiritual Pride represented* (Philadelphia, [1745]); Tennent, *The Necessity of Studying to be quiet, and doing our own Business* (Philadelphia, 1744); Tennent, *Brotherly Love recommended, by Argument of the Love of Christ* (Philadelphia, 1748). On the movement of New Lights toward moderation see Coalter, *Gilbert Tennent, Son of Thunder*, 91–112; David C. Harlan, "The Travail of Religious Moderation: Jonathan Dickinson and the Great Awakening," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 61 (1983): 411–26; Le Beau, *Jonathan*

*Dickinson*, 124–43; Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity*, 203–9.

<sup>25</sup>Presbytery of New Brunswick, Minutes, 2 June 1741, 29 May 1742, 27 May 1743, 11–12 August 1743, 11 September 1744; Synod of Philadelphia Minutes, 2 June 1740, 172; Presbytery of Philadelphia Minutes, 27 May 1740, 27 May 1741, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. This last note on petitions for supply preaching has also been noted by Coalter, *Gilbert Tennent, Son of Thunder*, 142.

<sup>26</sup>Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity*, 204–5.

<sup>27</sup>Le Beau, *Jonathan Dickinson*, 165–86; Coalter, *Gilbert Tennent, Son of Thunder*, 140–51, statistics on graduates 151.

<sup>28</sup>Synod of New York and Philadelphia, Minutes, 22 May 1758, printed in Klett, ed., *Minutes of the Presbyterian Church*, 340–43, citation, 341.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 341.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 342.

<sup>31</sup>George Gillespie, *A Letter to the Reverend Brethren* as quoted in Le Beau, *Jonathan Dickinson*, 130. See also George Gillespie, *A Sermon Against Divisions in Christ's Churches* (Philadelphia, 1740) and Gillespie, *Remarks upon Mr. George Whitefield* (Philadelphia, 1744).